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**THESIS**

**A NEW UNITED NATIONS FOR A NEW ERA:  
SECURITY, DEVELOPMENT, AND THE 'REGIONAL  
SOLUTION' (THE CASE OF LATIN AMERICA)**

by

Brian J. Solano

December 2009

Thesis Advisor: Marcos (Mark T.) Berger  
Second Reader: Brian Greenshields

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**A NEW UNITED NATIONS FOR A NEW ERA: SECURITY, DEVELOPMENT,  
AND THE 'REGIONAL SOLUTION' (THE CASE OF LATIN AMERICA)**

Brian J. Solano  
Lieutenant Commander, United States Navy

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of

**MASTER OF ARTS IN DEFENSE ANALYSIS**

from the

**NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL  
December 2009**

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## **Abstract**

The United Nations was signed into creation in 1945 against the backdrop of the end of World War II. At the time, the victorious powers and their allies were convinced that the world required an organization to oversee and provide guidance for and prevent conflict between both established and developing nation-states. The organizational design of the United Nations when it was established in the mid-1940s was intended to deal with the political and economic realities facing modern nation-states as they existed at that point in history. This thesis will explore the possibilities that exist for reorganizing the current United Nations in ways that would either establish or strengthen regional oversight and management structures of and by the nation-states of particular regions. The United Nations could, in this fashion facilitate the pooling of sovereignty by nation-states of the various regions to deal with the fact that many of the troubled regional hotspots of the world today will become the war zones of tomorrow. It is argued that strong, regional political frameworks with the backing of the United Nations could better address the extreme poverty, the inequitable division of wealth and the disorder and anarchy that contribute to the deteriorating quality of life for large numbers of people in the most troubled regions of the world today.



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## **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

The United Nations was signed into creation in 1945 against the backdrop of the end of World War II. At the time, the victorious powers and their allies were convinced that the world required an organization to provide guidance for, and prevent conflict between, both established and developing nation-states. Colonialism had seen its time come and go, although it would take 30 years for virtually every remaining one-time colony to become nation-states.

The organizational design of the United Nation, when it was established in the mid-1940s, was intended to deal with the political and economic realities facing modern nation-states (particularly the original fifty member nation-states) as they existed at that point in history. Today, the United Nations has upwards of 200 members and the world order of which it is a part is very different from the immediate post-World War II era. This thesis will explore the possibilities that exist for reorganizing the United Nations in ways that would either establish or strengthen regional oversight and management structures of and by the nation-states of particular regions. The United Nations could, in this fashion, facilitate the pooling of sovereignty by nation-states in various regions to deal directly with the problems of the some of the most troubled regions in the world today.

While the roots of current or future conflicts are complicated, strong regional, political frameworks with the backing of the United Nations could better address the extreme poverty, the inequitable division of wealth, and



the disorder and anarchy that contribute to the deteriorating quality of life for large numbers of people in the most troubled regions. It is argued here that the more troubled the region, the greater the need for a regional structure that is responsible for and capable of acting at the regional level in the collective interests of the people of the region and the nation-states that make up the region. One option is the creation or amplification of regional security and development frameworks, with oversight mechanisms calibrated by the United Nations. Latin America will be used as the main case study of how such a reorganization of the United Nations and the strengthening of regional frameworks could be set in motion. Ultimately, this is a proposition grounded in research concerning real-world problems and trends. It is an effort to reframe and reorient the debate about security and development in the context of rising regional initiatives of various sorts. While it is hoped that it will stimulate discussion and policy debate about the "regional solution" and the security-development nexus, it is not (given the relative brevity of this document) a formal policy proposal. The latter can only be produced as a result of much more debate and discussion.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Making changes to the United Nations is not a new idea. As I researched this topic, I found many commentators and politicians who had presented different ideas about how to improve the organization over the years. I have always felt the United Nations needed to play a larger and more effective roll in the world. During my time as a student in DA3883: The Rise, Transformation and Future of the Nation-State System, taught by Professor Marcos Berger of the Department of Defense Analysis at the Naval Postgraduate School, we discussed the growing problems that flowed from the nation-state system as it had been created under the auspices of United Nations after 1945. We also discussed the possibility of how a greater effort could be made to either create or amplify regional organizations as the next step, now that the limitations of the nation-state have become increasingly apparent in many parts of the world. I in turn, decided that the United Nations (despite or because of its limitations) was a good place to begin such an endeavor. Professor Berger's idea (that individual nation-states had clearly failed in many instances, and some sort of regional solution to security and development problems could be a way forward) provided the initial point of departure for my thesis. It should also be noted that the organizational design portion of this thesis, draws on work that was originally done by LCDR Chris Cooper and I, while enrolled in MN3121: Organizational Design for Special Operations taught by Professor Eric Jansen of the Naval Postgraduate School.

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## **I. A NEW UNITED NATIONS FOR A NEW ERA**

### **A. INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE**

The United Nations (UN) was signed into creation in 1945 against the backdrop of the end of the Second World War (1939-1945). At the time, it was thought that the world required an organization to provide guidance for both established and developing nation-states. Colonialism had seen its time come and go and, over the next thirty years, a very large number of former colonies became nation-states and were inducted into an expanding United Nations, so that by the 1970s only the most minor remnants of the colonial era remained. The initial organizational design of the United Nations was intended to deal with the modern nation-states as they existed at that point in history. The fundamental concern, not surprisingly, was that the horrible tragedy of war, especially world war, would not befall the planet again.

Since the fall of communism in the early 1990s, the world has become more globalized (an uneven process that began in the 1970s with the technological and economic shifts of that decade) but at the same time more complex and less stable. The world has changed dramatically in the decades since the World War II, and a new or dramatically revised set of international organizational structures is required to frame a globalizing social order. One approach, which would both fit with post-Cold War trends and also address the fact that the major security and development problems facing the world today tend to take on a regional character, would be to move towards stronger regional

security and development frameworks. In this context, the United Nations, for all its shortcomings, is still an obvious starting place to facilitate stronger regional organizations. This project would involve restructuring the UN to focus much more forcefully on regional security and development. This thesis will explore the possibilities of reorganizing the current UN, particularly the establishment of regional oversight mechanisms and the management of regions ("troubled" or "stable") by the nation-states that compose the particular region.

This thesis provides a basic history and outlines the operating architecture of the United Nations. It then explores the idea of restructuring the organization with a focus on regional security and development. It tries to strike a balance between geopolitical reality and the need for an improved international order. However, it is, in the end, a preliminary exploration of an idea whose time may or may not have come. At the outset, it is worth noting that criticisms of the ideas outlined here will be easy to make. The point here is to build on existing trends, even make practical suggestions, but this thesis is a contribution to the "regional solution" debate rather than a formal set of policy proposals. The debate about what is right or wrong with the United Nations is ongoing and this is a modest, albeit serious, effort at pointing out an important potential direction for reform.

In researching the United Nations, one finds a wealth of information, from the 1970s through today, on changes needing to be implemented: these changes range from "steady as she goes" to dismantling the United Nations due to

ineffective or irrelevant passing of resolutions by the ambiguous wording of the policy with the goal of getting them passed. Though changes have taken place within the organization, none has been as drastic as the one the author proposes here. In fact, it has been argued that using the current United Nations as a starting point for a major push to address the problems that underpin the "troubled" regions, areas prevalent in genocide and human rights issues, of the world would not work: as noted there is a widespread perception of the United Nations as having a history of failure and being the very embodiment of slow and inadequate response to international and regional crises since 1945. As Thomas Weiss, the Presidential Professor of Political Science at The Graduate Center of The City University of New York, proclaimed in his book *What's Wrong with the United Nations and How to Fix It*, the apparent complete lack of a coherent vision of an effective international government makes "...the continuation of the current lackluster one all the more inevitable."<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile, in his book *The Parliament Of Man*, Paul Kennedy observes that "... a massive constitutional restructuring of the world body [UN] as advocated in many radical reform schemes is not possible right now, even if its merits are undeniable."<sup>2</sup>

This thesis, while agreeing with Paul Kennedy—that the present international circumstances may not be conducive to major organizational changes at the UN—argues that an

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Weiss, *What's Wrong with the United Nations and How to Fix It*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008), 225.

<sup>2</sup> Paul Kennedy, *The Parliament of Man*, (New York: Random House, 2006), 244.

organization must always look to the future in order to be prepared to, and know how to, change with the times. The thesis also argues that it is easier to reorganize an established entity, deal with existing corruption, and inefficiency within an organization, than it is to create a new governing body from the ground up. Change may not be easy, and the times may not be auspicious, but a lack of change at the UN would be even worse. As Thomas Weiss concludes, the international community has governance, a body who oversees state issues, but no government to enforce control, the people and security actions, of policy and law.<sup>3</sup> This is one of many reasons why reform needs to be carried out within the United Nations and the ideas presented here may provide a guide.

This thesis will explore the current operational design (organization and execution) of the United Nations. Numerous theories and models exist concerning organizational design. Of the many available, this thesis will utilize Henry Mintzberg's conception of "organizational design"<sup>4</sup> as a key component for arguing for a design change of the United Nations. This thesis will emphasize that: of the five types of configurations (simple structure, machine bureaucracy, professional bureaucracy, divisional form, and adhocracy), that organizations can adopt, the professional bureaucracy best explains the current organizational form of the United Nations. In making the case for a divisional configuration that would

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<sup>3</sup> Thomas Weiss, *What's Wrong with the United Nations and How to Fix It*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008), 218-219.

<sup>4</sup> Mintzberg, Henry. "Organization Design: Fashion Or Fit?" *Harvard Business Review* 59, no. (January/February, 1981): <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost> , accessed March 17, 2009, 109.

emphasize a shift towards regional architecture, it will be argued that the current nation-state members of the United Nations from each region should be made more collectively responsible for security and development within their regions under the auspices of the United Nations.

To illustrate this argument the thesis will then look at Latin America and the Caribbean to show how the leading nation-states within the region could be organized and structured in order to provide a foundation for a Regional United Nations (RUN) organization that would be held responsible by the UN as a whole for security and development within its own regional boundaries. It is argued that it may be time to move to more robust regional frameworks that would group nation-states together for the better good of all (fewer cases against UN policies and standards).

National sovereignty, always a key element of contention when discussing the combining or re-aligning of national and international entities, needs to be left intact, nation states continuing to exist, in order to facilitate gradual acceptance of stronger regional frameworks over a period of time. The common fears of losing sovereignty can be overcome with correct implementation and oversight. Though dramatically reorienting the nation-state system may be considered a radical idea at the present time, an emphasis on the design or strengthening of regional organizations (a trend that is already underway in an often uneven and ad hoc fashion in most parts of the world) can be given more deliberate focus, with the United Nations acting beneficially and



efficaciously on behalf of all the member states of a region. This action could lead the way someday to strong regional organizations that would deliver security and development, particularly in some of the world's most troubled regions.

## **B.     LEGITIMACY OF THE UN AS AN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION**

In order for any organization, whether it be a political, military, or an international aid system, it has to be seen through the eyes of its audience as a legitimate entity and therefore a discussion on this topic must be dealt with. One of the most important and most difficult issues an organization finds itself dealing with is that of being seen as a legitimate entity. Major time and effort must be spent in developing and sculpting an organizations image to not only the public but to the environment the organization belongs. The United Nations belongs to the global environment, which makes it an international organization that must deal with political, environmental, and humanitarian issues. All these factors lay the basis for an intense operating environment that proves difficult to obtain legitimacy within.

### **1.     Legitimacy of the UN**

An international organization as the United Nations must prove its self-worth in all its actions, globally and on a nation-state level, in order to be seen by not only nation-state governments as legitimate but the international community of individuals as well. According to Gerd Junne, a full professor in International Relations

at the University of Amsterdam, two outcomes prevail when dealing with international organization and globalization.

On the one hand, globalization might strengthen the role of international organizations. With more and more interaction taking place on the global scale, it becomes more obvious that international institutions are needed to create a framework in which all these interactions can expand smoothly.<sup>5</sup>

On the other hand, the role of international organizations might just as readily be weakened. If many societal actors get organized at a global level, they may need the traditional international organizations less and less as a forum to meet and debate. With everybody wired to the Internet, some functions of international organizations may become obsolete. Furthermore, the process of globalization may be beset by many new conflicts, which could eventually undermine international organizations as well.<sup>6</sup>

With the two outcomes above, one can argue that either outcome is a positive gain for the United Nations and the global society. When looked at from the a point of view of acceptance of the United Nations as an organization that plays a significant role in the international community the strengthening of the organization would be a good outcome. An increase in global interactions, which few would argue are going to decrease vise increase in the future, needs a framework from which to operate in and the United Nations already provides that arena from which to expand.

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<sup>5</sup> Gerd C.A. Junne, *The Legitimacy of International Organization*, ed. Jean-Marc Coicaud and Veijo Heiskanen, (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2001), 190.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

As Junne described, a weakened outcome, again when looked at from the point of view that the United Nations exist in the international community in order to provide its services to needing nation-states, cannot exist in an environment that deals with each and every nation-state issue. It must be left to involve itself in larger, more encompassing conflicts while leaving smaller more isolated issues to the involved stakeholders.

Junne asked the question as to who decides if an international organization is legitimate—the governments or the individual citizen.<sup>7</sup> One can argue it is not one or the other but rather both government and individuals that decide the outcome. In the short term, the acting governments of the international community make policy and decisions concerning international organizations such as the United Nations. The government deals directly with the organization and therefore has a direct say to its legitimacy. On the reverse, it is the individual citizens influenced, positive or negatively, by the organization that in turn agrees or disagrees with his government dealings with the organization and in the long term has the power to vote said government out of office. Organizational legitimacy, either with government or with individual backing, is ultimately determined by one thing. What has the organization done for me? In the sources of legitimacy, which Junne lays out; justice, correct procedure, representation, effectiveness, and charisma, effectiveness is the overarching source that people make their decisions

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<sup>7</sup> Gerd C.A. Junne, *The Legitimacy of International Organization*, ed. Jean-Marc Coicaud and Veijo Heiskanen, (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2001), 191.

on. "[A] government is seen as legitimate if it exercises power in most, if not all, parts of the national territory. Here, the question is not how a government came to power, but whether it can exercise its authority effectively to deliver results."<sup>8</sup> The effectiveness of the United Nations may only be seen legitimate if it is able to show itself to the majority of the governments and individual citizens of the global society. The appearance and actions of the organization are viewed both direct (hands on assistance) and indirectly (media and marketing) concerning its audience as no one international organization would be able to directly influence an entire global society.

Many opinions exist on the issue concerning the UN, its effectiveness, and the perception of it being an ineffective or weak actor on the international stage? This thesis will look at the opinion of Juan-Marc Coicaud, a senior academic officer in the Peace and Governance Program of the United Nations University in Tokyo, professor of social and political philosophy, guest lecturer, and author. First, Coicaud argues the United Nations is perceived as weak concerning legitimacy due to the fact that it was created by and is highly influenced by the more powerful nation-states of the organization and is therefore seen as just an extension of the influencing nation-state government.<sup>9</sup> Though the author of this thesis agrees with Coicaud on the topic of powerful nation-state influences present in the United Nations, one must look at it with

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<sup>8</sup> Gerd C.A. Junne, *The Legitimacy of International Organization*, ed. Jean-Marc Coicaud and Veijo Heiskanen, (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2001), 191.

<sup>9</sup> Thomas Weiss, *What's Wrong with the United Nations and How to Fix It*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008), 258-262.

respect to the amount contributed by those nation members and what it entails. The United States of America is on that list of influential nation-states and they contribute 25% on the overall United Nation financial budget on an annual basis. It can be argued that any single entity in any organization, not just the United Nations, would have political influence on the organization itself with such a high contribution to the budget.

Secondly, the failures operationally during the mid 1990s (1992-1996); Somalia, Angola, Liberia, and Bosnia, ultimately led to the lack of legitimacy concerning the United Nations.<sup>10</sup> The question of why these operations failed is not the focus point here. The focus point is that due to the not so successful operations the UN became known as ineffective and lead to the organizations lack of legitimacy in the international arena.

As the international peacekeeping organization, these failures operationally showed the world the United Nations was not a functioning organization concerning peacekeeping. These failed actions put the United Nations in a position showing failure to execute effective peacekeeping operations numerous times and ultimately lead to the perception of not being a legitimate organization. Going back to the previous discussion on effectiveness, the organization must exercise its power (peacekeeping) over its territorial responsibility and the United Nations failed to do so. In turn, the organization was seen, and still is today by some accounts, as not a legitimate

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<sup>10</sup> Thomas Weiss, *What's Wrong with the United Nations and How to Fix It*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008), 269-270.

governing body and lacking any real political weight. This is the issue with which this thesis deals and proposes the design of the UN is no longer the right one to deal with today's global infrastructure.

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## **II. HISTORY, CURRENT ARCHITECTURE AND OPERATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS**

The people of the world have experienced innumerable devastating ordeals: wars, plagues, murderous governmental leaders, over the course of written history. One of the worst was World War II. For 11 years, Nazi Germany, led by Adolf Hitler who came to power in 1933, sought via increasingly violent military means to establish a glorious empire (Reich). At the same time, a growing power in the Far East—Japan—was establishing itself as a world power and expanding its empire. An allied Europe and later the United States were eventually successful in defeating both Germany and Japan and bringing an end to a time when millions of people were killed and billions of dollars were lost to "total war". With the end of the Second World War, the leaders of the world's nations sought to create an organization to stop this type of event from happening again.

This chapter will explore the history of the UN in order to provide a basic understanding of how and why the organization was created. Next, it will focus on the governing bodies of the UN and explore their duties and responsibilities within the organization.

### **A. HISTORY OF THE UNITED NATIONS**

In 1945, 50 countries met in San Francisco at the United Nations Conference on International Organization to draw up the United Nations Charter.



The purposes of the United Nations, as set forth in the Charter, are to maintain international peace and security; to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; to cooperate in solving international economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems and in promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; and to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in attaining these ends.<sup>11</sup>

During the early years of the United Nations, many conflicts developed around the world that tested the abilities of the organization as a peacekeeper. In creating emergency forces, made up of the armed forces of member nation-states, to act under the auspices of the Security Council (its operations will be discussed in section B2), the United Nations was able to put troops on the ground in conflict areas to attempt to defuse the situation.

The first such conflict erupted with the creation of Israel. In 1947, the establishment of Israel created turmoil in the Middle East. The United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) was created to oversee the truce established between Israel and the surrounding Arab countries, which rejected the initial UN partition of Palestine. The emergency force of troops was able to sustain a peaceful situation while negotiations were conducted and agreements reached by an UN mediator, Ralph Bunche.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> United Nations organization background, <http://www.un.org/aboutun/untoday/unorg.htm>, accessed December 2, 2008.

<sup>12</sup> Michael J. Berlin, *A Global Affair An Inside Look at the United Nations*, ed. Amy Janello and Brennon Jones, (New York: Jones & Janello, 1995), 47.

Three years later, in 1950, North Korea invaded South Korea, and the UN stepped in to help assist in the conflict. Due to the Soviets' veto of the United Nations acting on the North Korean invasion of South Korea, and due to their boycotting of the Security Council over the "refusal of the council to give China's seat over to the newly established People's Republic," the UN was able to establish a peace resolution that enabled the UN to provide troops to South Korea. This action was "the first use of force by troops under the UN flag."<sup>13</sup>

The Congo, meanwhile, may be one of the most recognized conflicts with which the United Nations found itself involved in the early years. In 1960 Belgium gave independence to the nation of the Congo, which led immediately to a very unstable situation in the sprawling and poorly integrated former colony. George Sherry, the UN civilian representative in Congo during the period, expressed the magnitude of the UN operation as follows:

...in the Congo, which mustered almost 20,000 troops at its peak in 1961, did much more than keep the peace. Thousands of [the UN] civilian "advisers" actually managed the country. "We ran the ministries, ensured the water supply, brought in Haitian judges, organized a central bank, kept the airport open, provided vaccinations and flew in food supplies."<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Michael J. Berlin, *A Global Affair An Inside Look at the United Nations*, ed. Amy Janello and Brennon Jones, (New York: Jones & Janello, 1995), 46.

<sup>14</sup> Michael J. Berlin, *A Global Affair An Inside Look at the United Nations*, ed. Amy Janello and Brennon Jones, (New York: Jones & Janello, 1995), 48.

This type of operation would later become what governments and militaries would refer to as "nation building."

Apart from the above list of peace-keeping and nation-building operations, the United Nations also played a role in numerous other conflicts and international incidents. The key thing to note about the above examples is the particular nation-states that were involved. They were all new, being former colonies or mandates of Britain, Japan and Belgium. The numerous other operations that the UN participated in include the Cuban Missile Crisis, the 1973 Yom Kippur War, Cambodia, the Iran-Iraq war, Afghanistan, and numerous others.

But, despite its international involvement during the Cold War, the United Nations only conducted three peace keeping operations between 1966 and 1988: Sinai, the Golan Heights and Lebanon. Between 1988 and 1995, however, the United Nations conducted 17 peacekeeping operations around the world.<sup>15</sup> Since 1995, the United Nations has continued to conduct peacekeeping and humanitarian missions throughout the world, though some may or may not be viewed as successful. Numerous peace keeping and United Nation mediation missions between nations are currently ongoing and include the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Somalia, and Ghana.

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<sup>15</sup> Michael J. Berlin, *A Global Affair An Inside Look at the United Nations*, ed. Amy Janello and Brennon Jones, (New York: Jones & Janello, 1995), 56-64.

The United Nations has gone through numerous changes during its existence. At the same time, throughout the United Nations history the nation-states that have made up its membership have not been amenable to change in design structure. In the early days, from 1945 through the 1950s, two main attitudes existed among the membership. One, a "Western" (European and North American) attitude is summarized by George Abi-Saab, as one that saw the UN "as a means of setting up a new international order; peaceful, democratic, and liberal; in other words, to project on to the international sphere the essential traits of the Western political and social systems."<sup>16</sup> The second attitude, one found particularly among the organization's Socialist member states, rested on a more

...restrictive interpretation of the mandates and the role of international organizations, considering them as arenas rather than as actors, and opposing all extension of their powers and activities, notably the move from deliberative activities to operational ones, except for the specific cases provided for in the constitutions. This restrictive attitude was accentuated during the cold-war period in view of the Western ascendancy within universal organizations, and the role they played in certain East-West conflicts, such as the Korean War.<sup>17</sup>

These two attitudes played a major factor in decision making by more western vs. socialist nations and voting on policies during the early decades of the United Nations' existence.

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<sup>16</sup> John P. Renninger, *The Future Role of the United Nations in an Interdependent World*, ed. John P. Renninger (Dordrecht: Marinus Nijhoff), 223.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 223-224.

By the 1970s, a third attitude had clearly emerged. The new attitude came from an increasingly large number of developing nations that joined the United Nations in the wake of decolonization. John Renninger, former Special Advisor and Programs Officer with the UN, explains that as the United Nations membership grew, the increase in third world nations was reflected in changes in political and economic attitudes in the general assembly. Most pronounced was a growing concern with social inequality and poverty.<sup>18</sup> This new attitude at the United Nations provided the foundation for some changes in the organization of the United Nations, particularly in relation to economic development. Though changes were made, establishing of departments and divisions within the UN organization, a far more robust structural reorganization is still needed. Before addressing the latter more attention to the actual organization design of the United Nations is in order.

## **B. CURRENT ARCHITECTURE AND OPERATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS**

The current structure of the United Nations will be outlined in this section in order to provide a basic understanding of the UN. Given the size of the United Nations and the concerns of this thesis we will limit our discussion to the organization's six major councils and committees. With that said, one must always remember when discussing the operations of an organization that there is an outer tier of the organization where it appears issues are dealt with and then there is the inner tier where much

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<sup>18</sup> John P. Renninger, *The Future Role of the United Nations in an Interdependent World*, ed. John P. Renninger (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff), 223-224.

of the details are dealt with. In the case of the UN this outer tier is the six main councils. The inner tier is all the sub-committees behind the scenes working on the details of the resolutions the United Nation then debates and decides whether to pass or not.

## **1. General Assembly**

The United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) consists of the entirety of the one hundred and ninety-two member nations. The role of the general assembly is to act as the "chief deliberative, policymaking and representative organ of the United Nations."<sup>19</sup> In turn the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) has the following actions available to it as set out in the charter of the United Nations:

The General Assembly may:

- Consider and make recommendations on the general principles of cooperation for maintaining international peace and security, including disarmament;
- Discuss any question relating to international peace and security and, except where a dispute or situation is currently being discussed by the Security Council, make recommendations on it;
- Discuss, with the same exception, and make recommendations on any questions within the scope of the Charter or affecting the powers and functions of any organ of the United Nations;
- Initiate studies and make recommendations to promote international political cooperation, the development and codification of international law, the realization of human

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<sup>19</sup> United Nations organization background, <http://www.un.org/ga/about/background.shtml>, accessed December 2, 2008.

rights and fundamental freedoms, and international collaboration in the economic, social, humanitarian, cultural, educational and health fields;

- Make recommendations for the peaceful settlement of any situation that might impair friendly relations among nations;
- Receive and consider reports from the Security Council and other United Nations organs;
- Consider and approve the United Nations budget and establish the financial assessments of Member States;
- Elect the non-permanent members of the Security Council and the members of other United Nations councils and organs and, on the recommendation of the Security Council, appoint the Secretary-General.<sup>20</sup>

The above listed duties and responsibilities of the General Assembly are important to note as they are particularly applicable to the regional design for the divisional construct discussed in chapter four.

## **2. Security Council**

The Security Council of the United Nations is one of the most important (if not the most important) due to its policy setting authority, departments of the organization. The Council consists of five permanent members (China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, and the United States) and ten non-permanent members (currently—2009—they are: Austria, Burkina Faso, Costa Rica, Croatia, Japan, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mexico, Turkey, Uganda, and

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<sup>20</sup> United Nations organization background, <http://www.un.org/ga/about/background.shtml>, accessed December 2, 2008.

Vietnam). The United Nations charter lays out the duties of the Security Council as being the maintenance of international peace and security.<sup>21</sup> The goal of maintaining peace is pursued via the council meeting and voting on actions to be taken, or directives issued to countries seen to have violated international law whether in relation to relatively minor questions of contested borders or the attack on, or the invasion and occupation of one nation-state by another. Each member of the Security Council has one vote. Nine of the fifteen members are required to pass directives and of the nine all five permanent members must be in concurrence.

### **3. Economic and Social Council**

The Economic and Social Council was setup within the United Nations in order to help bring about better living situations for the people of the member nations. According to the UN itself the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) "serves as the central forum for discussing international economic and social issues, and for formulating policy recommendations addressed to Member States and the United Nations system."<sup>22</sup> The council is responsible for the following:

- Promoting higher standards of living, full employment, and economic and social progress;
- Identifying solutions to international economic, social and health problems;

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<sup>21</sup> United Nations organization background, [http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc\\_background.html](http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc_background.html) ,accessed December 26, 2008.

<sup>22</sup> United Nations organization background, <http://www.un.org/ecosoc/about/> , accessed December 4, 2008.



- Facilitating international cultural and educational cooperation; and
- Encouraging universal respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

#### **4. Trusteeship Council**

Ensuring the transition of territories from colonial or indirect rule to self rule is the task of the Trustee Council. The council is composed of the five permanent members of the Security Council. The council suspended its operations in 1994 when its last trustee state became an independent nation-state.<sup>23</sup>

#### **5. Secretariat**

Headed by the Secretary-General, the Secretariat is responsible for executing the daily business of the UN. The Secretary-General is the chief administrative officer; he may only carry out activities that the other two main United Nation organs, UNGA and the Security Council, have direct his office to execute.<sup>24</sup>

#### **6. International Courts of Justice**

The UN charter gives the world a legal outlet via the International Court of Justice. The court is composed of 15 judges who are elected by the UNGA and the Security Council. The UN charter assigns the court as the location where states settle international disputes and seek international justice.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> UN organization background, <http://www.un.org/documents/tc.htm> accessed March 2, 2009.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> International Court of Justice organization, <http://www.icj-ij.org/court/index.php?pl=1> accessed March 2, 2009.

Figure 1 provides the organizational structure of the six bodies of the United Nations. Though this is not a complete description of each of the main bodies, it should provide a basic understanding of the international organization.

# The United Nations System

## Principal Organs

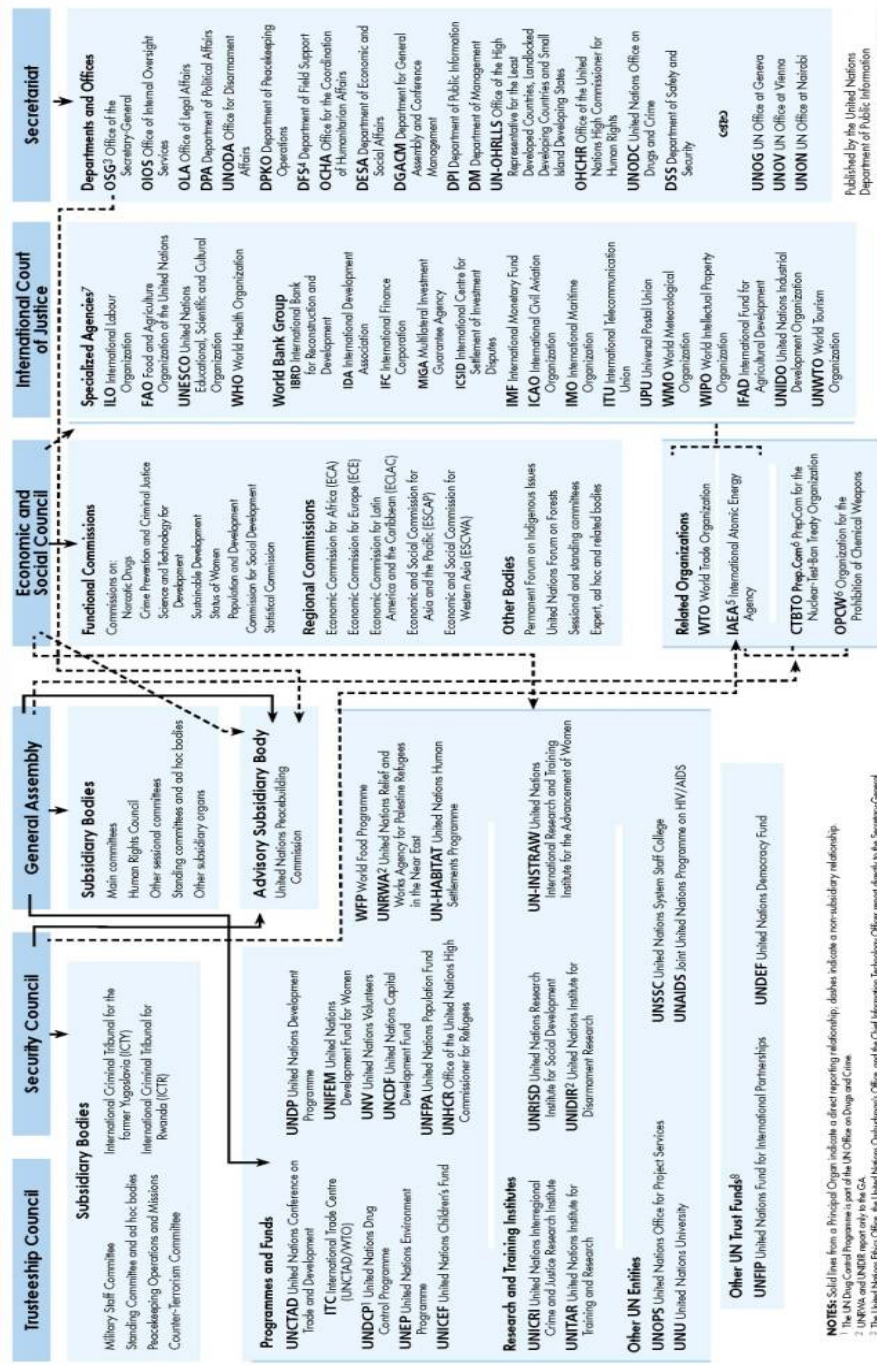


Figure 1. UN Organizational Chart<sup>26</sup>

<sup>26</sup> UN organizational chart, <http://www.un.org> accessed March 2, 2009.

### **III. REORGANIZATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NEW UNITED NATIONS**

For years, people have been discussing reforming the United Nations or creating a new organization in order to assist in governing the growing number of nation-states of the world. In 1985, Maurice Bertrand prepared the United Nations Joint inspection Unit report. The report identified how outdated and poorly suited the structure of the United Nations was. The Joint Inspection Unit report went on to proclaim "What is needed is a comprehensive view and precise programme (sic) on a reasonable geographic scale, and the handling of problems must be done on the spot, in close collaboration with the peoples concerned."<sup>27</sup> Thus, the idea of restructuring the United Nations along regional lines (or at least the implication that such a change is needed) has been around for at least 25 years and needs to be pursued. This thesis proposes that the United Nations as we currently know it should be restructured into a United Nations with a head quarters element, and a regional organization element, of nation-states working together as regional neighbors, while maintaining the United Nations standards and policies.

#### **A. REORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS**

The United Nations Head Quarter (UNHQ) would perform many of the same duties it currently does today with regards to discussing and making decisions on *worldly*

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<sup>27</sup> John P. Renninger, *The Future Role of the United Nations in an Interdependent World*, ed. John P. Renninger (Dordrecht: Marinus Nijhoff), 232.

issues. The United Nations Head Quarters main purpose or duty would be to act as the mediator or decision maker on issues between the Regional United Nations (RUN) and its members. It would continue its mission on such issues as global warming, international terrorism, and genocide. The UNHQ would continue to focus much of its attention on the trouble areas of the world, such as Africa, but it could also focus more on genuinely global issues. The Regional United Nations, meanwhile, would take on many of the task and decisions that today's United Nations oversees but are better addressed at the regional level.

### **1. Organization Change**

Organizational design is a complex and much debated subject. Though numerous schools of thought exist concerning this topic, the work of Henry Mintzberg will be utilized here. Within organizational theory, Henry Mintzberg, who holds a PhD from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), is widely recognized as an accomplished authority on management, strategy formation, and strategic decision making and thus provides a creditable approach of analysis.<sup>28</sup>

The following section discusses the main bodies of the United Nations using Henry Mintzberg's "*Organizational Design: fashion or fit*" in order to provide a perspective on this issue. As previously stated Mintzberg lays out five configurations that organizations can form. The simple form (a one large unit constructed of one or a few top managers and a group of operators who conduct the basic work), the

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<sup>28</sup> Henry Mintzberg, *The Structure Of Organizations*, (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall), 1979).

machine bureaucracy (a standardization of work for coordination and it results in low-skilled and highly specialized jobs), and adhocracy (a structure of interacting project groups), do not fit the UN due to the type of political environment the UN operates in. The divisionalized form (a set of rather independent entities joined together by a loose administrative overlay) will be discussed and explored in section two of this chapter as the divisional form is the one being proposed in this thesis as the best form for the UN.

Of the five configurations, the professional bureaucracy partially, along with a stakeholders approach to be introduced in section two, explains the current UN organization. Mintzberg describes professional bureaucracy as a configuration that "relies on the standardization of skill rather than work processes or outputs for its coordination..."<sup>29</sup> Unlike a machine bureaucracy (standardization of work processes), which uses lower skilled personnel, the UN retains highly skilled and educated diplomats and bureaucrats to conduct its missions and responsibilities. By looking at Figure 2, one gains a better understanding of why the professional model best explains the UN's current organizational structure and operation.

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<sup>29</sup> Henry Mintzberg, "Organization Design: Fashion Or Fit?" *Harvard Business Review* 59, no. (January/February, 1981): <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost> , accessed March 17, 2009, 109.



Figure 2. Mintzberg's Professional Bureaucracy with UN organs<sup>30</sup>

The UNGA, Security Council, and the Secretariat are the strategic apex, top management. These three bodies work together to determine the direction and type of operations the UN should conduct. The professional core of the ECOSOC, Trusteeship Council, and International Court of Justice are responsible for using their skills to move the UN in the direction the strategic apex points it to. Continuing the analysis with the guidance of Mintzberg, one understands how the creation of a professional bureaucracy worked for the UN during the Cold War (1945-1991). The international order as a whole was relatively stable and was centered on two competing superpowers (Soviet Russia and the United States). This stable international order provided the UN with the ability to standardize the required skill sets of the diplomats who worked within the organization. Even though the world was relatively stable, the operating environment was still complex. The complexity came from the fact that there were many different nation-states

<sup>30</sup> Henry Mintzberg, "Organization Design: Fashion Or Fit?" *Harvard Business Review* 59, no. (January/February, 1981): <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost> , accessed March 17, 2009, 109.

attempting to work together under circumstances in which their national interests, such as boarder security, routinely conflicted with international concerns, such as trade agreements. Mintzberg explains that a "professional bureaucracy is most effective for organizations that find themselves in stable yet complex environments."<sup>31</sup> He describes the entities that best fit this structure: hospitals, universities, and accounting firms. The problem is that the UN is not fully a professional bureaucracy.

The reasons the United Nations is not what Mintzberg calls a complete professional bureaucracy results from the organization's variegated sources of decision-making power and the particularly byzantine, but centralized, politics of the organization as mentioned above with national and international interest. Mintzberg states the "[c]omplexity [of the professional bureaucracy's task environment] requires that decision-making power be decentralized to highly trained individuals."<sup>32</sup> Even though the diplomats and staffers are highly skilled, the UN does not have decentralized decision making. The major decisions must pass through the Security Council; the five permanent members are the power base for the council. This centralized power prevents the professional core from making decisions from firsthand experience or knowledge on the scene. The groups or operations executing UN missions must remain within the mandates that come from New York (UN physical location). Any changes needed on site that goes

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<sup>31</sup> Henry Mintzberg, "Organization Design: Fashion Or Fit?" *Harvard Business Review* 59, no. (January/February, 1981): <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost> , accessed March 17, 2009, 109.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.



outside the mandate require amendments from the Security Council. The council's operations are not simple because there are 15 national interests involved in all decisions.

The Security Council is, when all is said and done, the very embodiment of power politics, defined below. Not only is creating and executing its mandate a function of power politics, it is also a key player in international relations. Michael Harrison, in his book *Diagnosing Organizations*, describes power politics as "attempts by actors or groups of people (stakeholders) to obtain favorable outcomes in areas of importance to them."<sup>33</sup> These attempts, as defined by Harrison, is where the UN's fit with a professional bureaucracy begins to disintegrate. The representatives to the UN must work together to try and correct problems at the same time as the solutions that they come up with are generally formulated with a focus on limiting the impact on various the national interest of the member nation-states (particularly the most powerful nation-states: such as the permanent members of the Security Council). Additionally, the UN delegates must have political power at home to convince their nations to devote more money and personnel to UN efforts. Lee G. Bolman and Terrence Deal describe political organizations not as mindless, robotic entities, but as "living, screaming political arenas that host a complex web of individual and

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<sup>33</sup> Michael Harrison, *Diagnosing Organizations: Methods, Models and Processes*, Sage Publications London, 2003, <https://nps.blackboard.com>, accessed March 16, 2009, 95.

groups interests..."<sup>34</sup> They detail this further with the following five perspectives:

- organizations are *coalitions* of diverse individuals and interest groups
- there are *enduring differences* among coalition members in values, beliefs, information, interests, and perceptions of reality
- most important decisions involve allocating *scarce resources*---who gets what
- scarce resources and enduring difference make *conflict* central to organizational dynamics and underline *power* as the most important asset
- goals and decisions emerge from *bargaining, negotiation, and jockeying for position* among competing stakeholders.<sup>35</sup>

Both Harrison and Bolman-Deal use the stakeholder as the unit of account and this thesis assumes that individual representatives of nation-states at the United Nations often represent differing and even conflicting interest, a contradiction that is at the heart of their day-to-day decision-making. The UN's mission effectiveness, being a direct result of the sometimes-divergent personalities of the UN representatives, derives from the ability to "realize its goals."<sup>36</sup> Of the four approaches that R.L. Daft lays out in his work *Essentials of Organization Theory and Design*, the stakeholder approach best fits the UN organization. Although other professional bureaucracies may look towards the goal, resource-based, or even the internal

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<sup>34</sup> Lee G. Bolman and Deal, Terrence *Reframing Organizations: Artistry, Choice, and Leadership*, John Wiley & Sons, San Francisco CA, 2003, <https://nps.black.board.com> accessed March 16, 2009,196.

<sup>35</sup> Bolman and Deal *Reframing Organizations*,196.

<sup>36</sup> R.L Daft, *Essentials of Organization Theory and Design* Mason, OH. Thomson Learning (Custom Publishing) <https://nps.black.board.com> accessed March 16, 2009, 24.

process approaches, none of these approaches fit the political component of the UN. From Dafts' works, the stakeholder approach is the best fit due to the many international actors (state and non-state) that have a stake in the UN's effectiveness (or ineffectiveness). The important factor here is that "[e]ach stakeholder group has to be surveyed to learn whether the organization performs well from its viewpoint."<sup>37</sup> Using this approach the UN is responsible to 192 states plus all non-state actors that express their opinions. Meeting everyone's viewpoint of effectiveness is not possible. The professional bureaucracy without decentralized decision making, while using the stakeholder approach, may not be the best fit for the UN task environment. Because of this unfit organizational structure and implementation, the UN needs to rediscover itself in divisional organizational structure that is a better fit.

## **2. United Nations: Reorganization for a Better Fit**

In designing a new structure for an organization, one of the essential elements is the fit of the structure to the environment. Mintzberg states that "the key to organizational design is consistency and coherence."<sup>38</sup> With this thought in mind, we can review the structure of the UN as it exists and operates currently. Figure 2 details the UN organizational chart described in Section B of Chapter II.

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<sup>37</sup> R.L Daft, *Essentials of Organization Theory and Design* Mason, OH. Thomson Learning (Custom Publishing) <https://nps.blackboard.com> accessed March 16, 2009, 24.

<sup>38</sup> Henry Mintzberg, "Organization Design: Fashion Or Fit?" *Harvard Business Review* 59, no. (January/February, 1981): <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost> , accessed March 17, 2009, 103.

One could ask, "Is the current structure of the UN the correct fit for the UN environment?" As the author of this thesis has argued, the UN is essentially a professional bureaucracy that retains highly skilled and educated diplomats and bureaucrats to conduct its missions and responsibilities. Yet no matter how skilled and educated the diplomats and bureaucrats are, one must agree there comes a time when individuals (Ambassadors and Staffs acting as representatives to their nation-state) are no longer able to process the influx of information beyond a certain threshold. The threshold obviously differs from one representative body to the next as their abilities differ; the "inverted U" diagram (Figure 3) indicates a decision maker may reach an overload point when the amount of information exceeds his ability to process the information. Passing this point makes the decision maker less effective. Whether one discusses processing a high level of information concerning one or more issues or making decisions based on world politics, the inverted U function applies. As a whole, the UNGA represents the member nation-states and sets policy. At any given time, there are hundreds of issues and concerns involving the one 192 member countries that require both deliberation and action. It is only certain representative bodies who are able to outperform the "inverted U" and succeed where others fail. In a divisional (regional) design a single 192 member assembly could be split into smaller 30 or 40 member regional general assemblies that only debate and set policy relevant to their region.

### Information Overload: the Inverted U function

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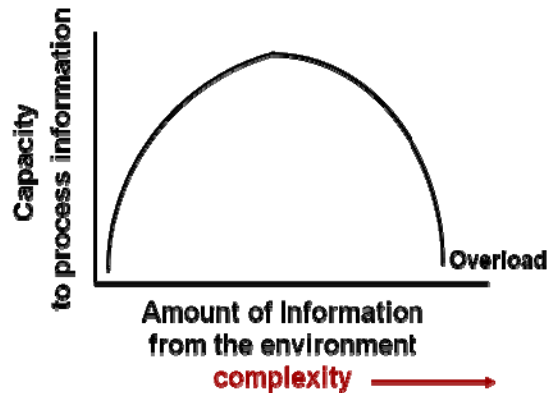


Figure 3. Inverted U function<sup>39</sup>

Figure 4 from Mintzberg indicates that as the environment becomes more complex, the environment may also become more unstable. The UN exists in a task environment with numerous stakeholders all acting in the interest of both the UN and their own state or non-state political and financial interests. One could argue the UN operational environment is relatively stable but tends toward more complexity because of the political issues involved. If an organization were able to remove four-fifths of the decision makers, the regional subunits would leave the realm of an international bureaucracy and streamline themselves into a more effective decision making body based on fewer nation-states dealing with their collective regional security and development problems.

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<sup>39</sup> Presented in MN3121 Organizational Design for Special Operations class of Prof Erik Jansen Naval Postgraduate School Winter Quarter 2009.

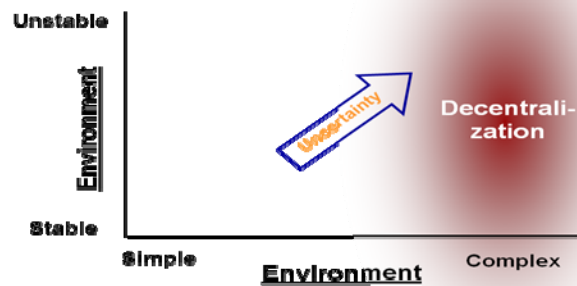


Figure 4. Areas of the Task Environment<sup>40</sup>

Mintzberg defines the divisional form as "... not a complete but a partial structure, superimposed on others."<sup>41</sup> Mintzberg also argues that organizations tend to become divisional once they have grown to maturity and have run out of opportunities or become stalled in their traditional environments. Thus, it can be argued that the UN has matured for the last 64 years in its international political environment, and it has reached its limit as far as effectively managing the issues of the world are concerned due to its increasingly byzantine bureaucratic politics. The time has come for the UN to move from being an ostensibly global (international) professional bureaucracy to more clearly divisional (regional) structures due to the ever present increasing regional ties of organizations and nations within the task environment.

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<sup>40</sup> Figure is ideas and concepts taught in MN3121 Organizational Design for Special Operations class of Prof Erik Jansen Naval Postgraduate School Winter Quarter 2009.

<sup>41</sup> Henry Mintzberg, "Organization Design: Fashion Or Fit?" *Harvard Business Review* 59, no. (January/February, 1981): <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost> , accessed March 17, 2009, 110.

Each region of the world has varying degrees of security and development problems. A move to a divisional (regional) structure with oversight from "UN Headquarters" could decentralize the organization into at least five regions. The regions include; Africa, Asia Pacific, Europe, Latin America & the Caribbean, and Western Asia (this list is not cast in stone and part of any attempt to pursue a 'regional solution' would involve careful consideration of regional boundaries and might include a degree of overlap or trans-regional coordination).

The division of nation-states into particular regions would not be entirely new to the UN as ECOSOC already operates on a regional basis. The Economic Commission is currently sub-divided into smaller regional units, while every member of the UN is part of the Economic Commission that "serves as the central forum for discussing international economic and social issues, and formulating policy recommendations addressed to Member States and the UN system."<sup>42</sup>

In constructing a divisional (regional) structure, the new organization would maintain the basic components of the current UN. The UN Headquarters would remain at the apex of the organizational chart as the body that guides regional components as needed while maintaining the overall standards of the UN. Currently the UN regionalizes the ECOSOC; therefore, a further reorganization of all its subsidiary organization could follow this example. Figure 5 provides a diagram of the proposed regional divisions.

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<sup>42</sup> UN organization background, <http://www.un.org/ecosoc/about>, accessed December 22, 2008.

Though this diagram is not a complete picture, one can see that each region maintains ties to the current UN structure; the structure is similar but the size is adjusted to suit regional requirements.

An organization, depending on the level of analysis, may utilize multiple designs. This design is the case with the UN as it is currently constituted. If one refers back to Figure 1 (current UN organization chart), we can see how multiple departments within the organization report to one another. These departments pass decisions and policies concerning different topics back and forth between one another in order to produce a final result. The product in the case of the UN is policies or decisions. This process of passing work back and forth shows that the work flow of the UN is reciprocal and cannot be completed without cooperation among committees, departments, and nation-states. With a regional division within the UN, the overall work flow could decrease due to fewer nation-states being involved in the process of decision making and the change to a division form could lead to a more effective operation overall.



### U.N. Divisional Structure (by Region)

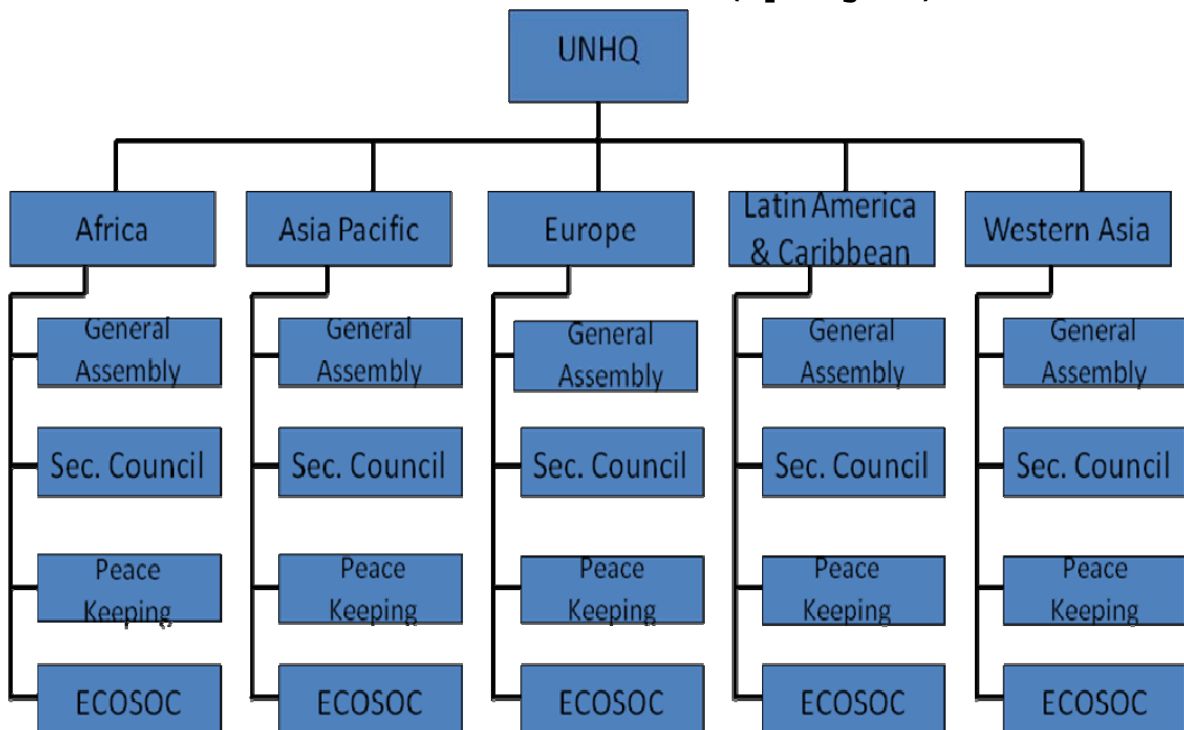


Figure 5. Proposed Divisional UN organization

The advantages of changing the UN organization to a divisional (regional) structure can be seen when looking at Burton's and Obels' work. They define a divisional organization as "self-contained" and "somewhat autonomous units coordinated by a headquarters unit (product, customer, or geographical grouping...)".<sup>43</sup> Burton and Obels, along with McGraw Hill and R.L. Daft, go on to list the advantages and disadvantages as:

<sup>43</sup> Burton & Obel, *Basics of Structure* briefing, MN3121: Organizational Design, 2009.

### **Divisional Form Advantages**

- More suited to fast change in an unstable environment (than the functional structure).
- Increases coordination across functions.
- Leads to greater client satisfaction: product responsibility and contact points are clearer;
- Allows units to adapt to differences in products, regions, and clients.
- Better face-to-face communication with local interests.
- Takes advantage of economies of local operations.
- Best in large organizations with several products.
- Decentralizes decision making & responsibility to the midline.
- Units provide a training ground for general managers.

### **Divisional Form: Disadvantages**

- Eliminates economies of scale in functional departments
- Leads to poor coordination across product lines
- Eliminates in-depth competence and technical specialization
- Makes integration and standardization across product lines difficult
- Requires more people with general manager abilities
- Increases problem of top management control
- Makes maintenance of central economic services difficult.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Burton & Obel, Basics of Structure briefing, MN3121: Organizational Design, 2009.

When one looks at the advantages listed above and apply them to the UN, one finds they are a great fit to the UN operational environment. Each of the advantages listed above applies to the UN in the following ways:

- More suited to fast change in an unstable environment: The world is an ever-changing place that rises and falls with political influence. A divisional design would allow the regional players involved to modify their structure or policies as needed in order to deal with the issues of that particular region.
- Increases coordination across functions: In a divisional approach to the UN a smaller number of people can be made up of regional members that have the same interest and concerns or at least the same level of applicability as each other to the issues being decided upon due to the fact they deal directly with themselves as stakeholders.
- Leads to greater client satisfaction: The product responsibility and contact points are clearer:
  - o Allows units to adapt to differences in products, regions, and clients: A divisional design allows the regional players involved to modify its structure or policies as needed in order to deal with the issues of that particular region and not need to apply a policy or certain approach to issues across a global scale.
  - o Better face-to-face communication with local interests: Again, in a divisional approach to the UN there are a smaller number of regional members that have the same interest and concerns.
  - o The regional stakeholders all have a say concerning the operations within their region and utilize their resources (regional personnel) to conduct the operations.

- Best in large organizations with several products: The UN deals with thousands of issues and policies effecting millions of people around the world. Not all policies and operational issues have the same level of concern for all member nations and therefore can be broken down and a more direct approach can be taken.
- Decentralizes decision making and responsibility to the midline: This is one of the main reasons to decentralize the UN into a divisional structure. The middle line in the UN case would be the regional nation-state members. These members become responsible for the operations of the organization within its borders and therefore are the stakeholders in the region. As Daft states in his work "the stakeholder approach includes the community's notion of social responsibility..."<sup>45</sup> This social responsibility not only falls on the regional manager, Secretary General of Latin America & Caribbean for example, but also the members of the Regional General Assembly, the Regional Security Council, and all the various other parts of the Regional system which in turn holds the member nations of the region accountable for the success of the regional organization.
- Units provide a training ground for general managers: Individuals who enter the world of the UN would be much better acclimated to a smaller regional structure than entering into a world organization as they are most likely from the region they are working. Of note, the author could see positions within each region for liaison from other regions in order to better foster regional and UNHQ interrelationships and information flow.

When one looks at the disadvantages listed above and applies them to the UN, one finds they are not all applicable or not relevant to the environment the UN

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<sup>45</sup> R.L Daft, *Essentials of Organization Theory and Design* Mason, OH. Thomson Learning (Custom Publishing) <https://nps.blackboard.com> accessed March 16, 2009, 28.

operates. The authors argue the following for each of the disadvantages listed above:

- Economies of scale: Decentralizing the organization into divisions would ultimately lead to more personnel needed to complete the assigned task in the departments of each division verses fewer personnel completing the task on a global scale. This would in turn increase cost due to redundancy of positions now completed by smaller number of personnel.
- Poor coordination across product lines: The goals and obligations of a regional designed UN structure remain the same as the UN Headquarters. Each region would still be required to maintain the basic goals and standards of UN policy and regulations.
- Eliminates in-depth competence and technical specialization: A regional organization still conducts and maintains all of the UN Headquarters' programs as long as they are applicable to their region. The specialization would be all that more robust in utilizing personnel working in their native region and on a smaller stakeholder scale.
- Makes integration and standardization across product lines difficult: The product lines are the rules and policies set in place by the UN Headquarters.
- Requires more people with general manager abilities: This may be one of the largest downsides of moving to divisions for the organization as it would create the need for more personnel upon establishing the regional infrastructure. The author views this as a positive "disadvantage" as it would create more employment for each member country and regional stakeholder but, a move of this type would ultimately cost more financially due to the restructuring of the UN as a whole into regions and duplication of work to be required from each region.

- Increases problem of top management control: The UN Headquarters would still be able to maintain control of its overarching duties of multiregional conflict or issue but, would not be overburdened with local issues and concerns of each region. A comparison may be made with the court system of the U.S. Just as the Supreme Court of the United States only hears cases that have worked their way through lower courts, the UN Headquarters would only deal with the issues regional level Secretary Generals and Assemblies could not deal with themselves. The UN Headquarters would also be responsible for global issues and dealing with issues between regions that could not be dealt with independently.
- Makes maintenance of central economic services difficult: Economic services would be pushed down to the regional level to be dealt with by the stakeholders of the region thereby freeing the UN Headquarters of the duties of global economic service.

Though we are arguing here that the UN needs to decentralize by pushing decision-making downwards to smaller sub-organizations via divisional units, Mintzberg reminds us

that autonomy notwithstanding, divisionalization does not amount to decentralization, although the terms are often equated with each other. Decentralization is an expression of the dispersal of decision-making power in an organization. Divisionalization refers to a structure of semiautonomous market-based units. A divisionalized structure in which the managers at the heads of these units retain the lion's share of the power is far more centralized than many functional structures where large numbers of specialists get involved in the making of important decisions.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Henry Mintzberg, "Organization Design: Fashion Or Fit?" *Harvard Business Review* 59, no. (January/February, 1981): <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost> , accessed March 17, 2009, 110.

Although divisional and decentralized units are not exclusive, by reorganizing the UN into a divisional organization, the regional managers would "retain the lion's share of power" over each region. The divisional structure of the UN must still execute the same governing concepts and policies set by the UN's strategic apex. As Mintzberg argues, each "division is treated as a single integrated entity with one consistent, standardized, and quantifiable set of goals"<sup>47</sup>; such a structure allows divisions to become centralized at the managerial level (regional) as regional managers are held responsible for the success of the division. The standard of output remains the same through the five proposed divisions (regions) of the UN. Referring back to Figure 5, one sees that all regions will maintain the core departments of the original organization (General Assembly, Security Council, Peace Keeping, and the Economic and Social Council). This maintains the current UN operating functions but pushes them down to fewer nation-states at the level of operation.

## **B. REGIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS**

In constructing a regional architecture for the United Nations one could go about it in many ways. The designs of the regions that follow are based on physical location, religious or cultural similarities among nations, and current established agreements or treaties between United Nation members. For the purposes of this thesis, we will not take into account historical, present, or possible

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<sup>47</sup> Henry Mintzberg, "Organization Design: Fashion Or Fit?" *Harvard Business Review* 59, no. (January/February, 1981): <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost> , accessed March 17, 2009, 110.

future conflicts among nation-states or debate alternate regional groupings. However, these are issues that would need to be factored into the actual restructuring was process. Again, the purpose of this thesis is to show how the UN no longer fits within its task environment and how it may further its effectiveness by regionalizing itself, this thesis provides just one example. These factors are a prime example of what types of issues could be dealt with when executing regional design with the assistance, if needed, of UNHQ.

As previously mentioned, the United Nations regional solution outlined in this thesis would be centered of five regions. The regions include: Africa, Asia Pacific, Europe, Latin America & the Caribbean, and Western Asia. Furthermore, these divisions are derived from the Economic Commissions of the United Nations. At the same time, each region could be sub-regionalized further for efficiency purposes or other issues. The following are six issues for which a change of this type would need to deal.

### **1. Regional United Nations Establishment**

Resistance from the members of the United Nations will no doubt be a major hurdle. Many nations will not agree with the regional approach. Regions will differ in size and makeup due to capabilities and current political and social issue. An international committee will need to be formed comprised of current members of the United Nations to oversee the regional architecture and implement the changes.



## **2. Security Council Oversight**

As the regional architecture is established, it will be expected that issues will develop and changes will need to be constructed. In order to assist in this transformation each new region will have an oversight representative from the Security Council and all region leaders will report to the United Nations Head Quarters Security council. This oversight will act as a check and balance between the Regional United Nations and allow for over site from the World United Nations.

## **3. New Purpose and Goals**

As an organization is created, the establishing body has goals and purposes set that govern the actions of that organization. The same is true when an organization is facing restructuring. In restructuring the United Nations, we must look at the purpose and goals the organization shall require members to uphold. In its new form the United Nations Head Quarters, and the Regional United Nations acting as a substructure, must continue to strive for its current purposes, as laid out in the Charter of the United Nations: saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war, establishing fundamental human rights, maintain the obligations of established treaties of nations, and promoting social progress.<sup>48</sup> The new Regional United Nations would be charged with continuing the charters policies along with maintaining or establishing security within its

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<sup>48</sup> United Nations charter, <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/preamble.shtml> ,accessed August 13, 2009.

regional borders, development within the region, and cooperation agreements between member nation-states.

Millions of people of the world today live in poverty or are involved in national conflict of some sort. The countries that are home to these millions are the ones who may gain the greatest advantage by this change. By regionalizing the United Nations the people who need the help, whether due to disease, food shortages, social economics, or civil war, are the ones who should be greatest involved in finding a solution to the problem while receiving assistance as needed.

A Regional United Nations would aid in attempting to decrease the "have-nots" of the world compared to the "haves." Many nation-states are on the verge of failing or have already failed. (The Failed State Index will be discussed in chapter four). A Regional United Nations would be in keeping with current United Nations policies and assistance programs for the "have-nots."

#### **4. Regional and Worldwide Issues**

As issues arise among nation-states, the regional components of the United Nations organization would deal with the issues as its members saw fit as long as they abided by the overarching purpose and goals of the United Nations Head Quarters. In discussing the Regional United Nations Latin America & the Caribbean, all nation members will meet in the Regional General Assembly, just as the United Nations of today does, present information, debate issues, and make policy decisions concerning aid, regional security forces, or mandates.

The issues the current United Nations deal with will continue to be dealt with on full member basis but only after regional attempts have been made. Issue will first be dealt with at the regional level. To no resolve, the United Nations HQ would then interdict in order to bring resolution. In the case of cross regional disputes between members of different regions an attempt by the two Regional United Nation bodies will first be explored and only after an unsuccessful venture would the United Nation HQ settle the dispute or take action.

## **5. United Nation Security Forces**

The United Nations security and peacekeeping forces are one of the primary reasons an organization of this type exist. In a restructured United Nations, these peacekeeping forces will continue to play a vital role for the organization and the international community. Regional security forces may consist of forces from within the region itself to police and keep peace. Again, people in conflict or in the need of aid must be put into a position to control and assist both themselves and their neighbors. If a situation or issue develops where regional forces are inadequate or undermanned, the United Nation HQ forces will mobilize for action. The United Nation HQ should also maintain a security force or be prepared to call up peacekeeping forces from other regional components when conflicts develop and the effected regional components are unable to maintain stability for themselves.

## **C. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NEW UNITED NATIONS ARCHITECTURE**

In order for the United Nations to attempt a structural change it will have to deal with many issues. The politics and governments currently established in the bureaucracy of the UN organization make for a difficult and time consuming working environment to get policy business action to take place. In order to make a changed happen as is proposed in this thesis it may be required to coerce member-nations to participate.

### **1. Political Systems and Established Governments**

A changing environment is ever present and one would think that humankind would be well suited to deal with it. Unfortunately, this non-ability to deal with change is not the case. The political systems of the current United Nations members must accept (passively or coercively) the new restructuring and architecture of the United Nations HQ and Regional United Nations. In order to make an organization more effective the members who are directly involved in the issues at hand must be involved in the solution process and those who are not directly involved should not be part of the solution. An example follows; Vietnam would most likely not be interested in what should or should not be agreed upon in Colombia concerning drug cartel movements across borders with Venezuela?

### **2. Benefits**

The benefits of this new structure may or may not be self evident to the members of the United Nations. In cases where it is not, an attempt to persuade member nations may

be needed. Regional development of the member nations may lead to better wealth distribution, stronger regional development, and more influential political systems on a global scale. In a regional architecture the nation-states, as they exist now, would be able to decide for themselves what works best in their environment and social structure. Not all nation-states believe in Western ideals or ways of life, and a regional division would allow for independent decisions based on local views and not worldly ones as long as they were in keeping with the UN policies.

Many nation-states are currently well established, ones not on the most likely to fail state index (Norway), and may not benefit directly from such a regional restructuring but they are not the target. The second and third world nation-states where turmoil exists need to be addressed as the target audience. Well-established nation-states will still be in need to play a vital role in assisting developing nation-states as they always have.

In those cases where nation-states do not see the benefit of restructuring, a "carrot and sticks" approach will need to be implemented. An example follows for discussion purposes only. Electricity and power in general, is a major necessity for developed nation-states and a desired necessity for undeveloped nation-states. Though nuclear power is a debated issue, it is one of the cleanest and cheapest sources of energy in the world today. Nuclear power can be used in order to nudge nation-states into either accepting the restructuring of the United Nations, and/or aligning them with United Nations HQ / Regional United Nations directives. Numerous developed nation-states

currently utilize nuclear power. Nuclear power provided by nuclear power nation-states to non-nuclear power nation-states may coerce them to comply. This action, or similar types, of coercion should only be considered if need be after all other attempts have failed in order to not allow more developed nations to yield more power vis a vis less developed nations. Obviously, many more nuclear power plants would need to be developed in order for this to be feasible. In the mean time or if a developed nation preferred another avenue other power production could be invested in (wind, solar, hydroelectric) and provide the same results.

Another benefit worth discussing is concerning the current debate over adding additional members to the Security Council. In a regional structure, each region would have its own Security Council comprised of members from that region. The nation member who today argues for additional Security Council membership can participate on their own regional level. This regional participation provides an avenue for experience and only after membership on a Regional Security Council could a member nation elevate to UNHQ Security Council status.

### **3. Rules**

The current rules and regulations the United Nations organization of today sets as a standard would still be required of the Regional United Nations. Environmental safeguards, genocide or ethnic cleansing behavior, and starvation are all issues that would need to be dealt with in accordance with current UN policy and regulation or modified as appropriate for each region.

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#### **IV. LATIN AMERICA AS A REGIONAL EXAMPLE**

Since WWII, the region has ebbed and flowed with success and failure both with the United Nations involvement and without. What we know as Latin America today has only existed for a relatively short time in world history. Since Christopher Columbus made his voyage across the Atlantic Ocean the region we know of today as Latin America (a term that was only introduced to describe the non-English-speaking part of the Americas in the nineteenth century) has changed significantly.

##### **A. THE UNITED NATION'S INVOLVEMENT WITH LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN**

The United Nations has been involved in the region of Latin America and the Caribbean since the mid-nineteenth century. Numerous operations have been conducted and will be discussed to show the benefits of the UN involvement in the region.

The United Nation's involvement in Latin America can first be seen in 1948, with the establishment of the Economic and Social council (ECOSOC) subsidiary body, the Economic and Social Council for Latin America, and the Caribbean (ECLAC). This body of the United Nations, being one of five regional divisions of ECOSOC, has the charter of "contributing to the economic development of Latin America, coordinating actions directed towards this end, and reinforcing economic ties among countries and with



other nations of the world" and, "the promotion of the region's social development" as its primary objectives.<sup>49</sup>

Throughout the six decades ECLAC has been in operation, its overall mission has modified and redeveloped in order to remain effective in their stated purpose. ECLAC's leaders describe its mechanics of thought in the following way:

Its [ECLAC] approach, which has come to be known as "historical structuralism" focuses on the analysis of the ways in which the region's institutional legacy and inherited production structure influence the economic dynamics of developing countries and generate behaviours [sic] that differ from those of developed nations. This approach does not recognize the existence of uniform "stages of development", since for "latecomers to development", such as the countries of the region, the dynamics of the process are different than they were for the nations that underwent development at an earlier point in history. Thus, this school of thought feels that the region's economies can be better understood by referring to the concept of structural heterogeneity that was formulated in the 1960s.<sup>50</sup>

A key idea that can be taken from this excerpt concerning ECLAC, and the UN due to ECLAC being a sub section of the Economic and Social Council of the UN, is the realization of the idea that there are "latecomers to development" in the region the nation-state system, though born in the colonialism time period up through post 1945

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<sup>49</sup> Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, [http://www.eclac.org/cgi-bin/getprod.asp?xml=/noticias/paginas/3/21713/P21713.xml&xsl=/tpl-i/p18f-st.xsl&base=/tpl-i/top-bottom\\_acerca.xsl](http://www.eclac.org/cgi-bin/getprod.asp?xml=/noticias/paginas/3/21713/P21713.xml&xsl=/tpl-i/p18f-st.xsl&base=/tpl-i/top-bottom_acerca.xsl), accessed October 12, 2009.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

World War II time, pre-existing state entities creating new state entities not yet suited for existence on their own. This idea of "latecomers" to the international scene can be explored in more detail by reviewing Mark T. Berger's "From Pax Romana to Pax Americana? The History and Future of the New American Empire". Berger argues that a states existence prior to 1945 was often based on a long war-fighting history that provided the foundation for its political, economic, and social existence. A large number of nation-states created after 1945 out of former colonies were weak from the outset and are the reason we see so many failing states today.<sup>51</sup> Thus a growing number of new nation-states are likely to fail or continually need assistance from an outside source, another state or organization. (The failed state status of Latin America and the Caribbean nation-states will be discussed in section C of this chapter).

The United Nation Peacekeeping troops have seen a multiple of operations in Latin America and the Caribbean during the last few decades. A discussion of these operations will follow detailed by the UN historical accounts. This section is not to debate the issue whether the operations conducted by the UN where successful or not but, rather to establish a basis for the UN assisting in conflicts within the region of Latin America and the Caribbean and show how a UN presence has had an impact on the region.

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<sup>51</sup> Marcos Berger, "From Pax Romana to Pax Americana? The History and Future of the New American Empire," *International Politics* 46, no. 2/3, 150-151, (2009).

Peacekeeping operations by the United Nations in the region of Latin American and the Caribbean began in 1965 with the Mission of the Representative of the Secretary-General in the Dominican Republic (DOMREP, May 1965 - October 1966). In April of 1965, civil war broke out in the Dominican Republic after the fall of the established government. The United States of America was the first to respond in providing security forces on the ground and after a quick resolution by the Organization of American States to provide additional forces to maintain the peace the United Nations Security Council elected to establish the mission to oversee and report on the peacekeeping operation and new governmental elections. Mr. Jose Antonio Mayobre, appointed by the Secretary-General as the representative to report on the developments, signed the Act of Reconciliation between the contending factions, establishment of a provisional government, along with the preparations for national elections of a new president.<sup>52</sup>

In late 1989, the United Nations Observer Group in Central America (ONUCA, November 1989 - January 1992) was established. ONUCA was developed out of the pre-existing Esquipulas II Agreement between Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua. ONUCA had the purpose of dealing "with issues of national reconciliation; an end to hostilities; democratization; free elections; termination of aid to irregular forces and insurrectionist movements; non-use of the territory of one State to attack other States; negotiations on security, verification and the

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<sup>52</sup> United Nations Peacekeeping Operations DOMREP, [http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co\\_mission/domrepbackgr.html](http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co_mission/domrepbackgr.html), accessed October 14, 2009.

control and limitation of weapons; refugees and displaced persons; cooperation, democracy and freedom for peace and development; international verification and follow-up; and a timetable for the fulfillment [sic] of commitments."<sup>53</sup> The details of the Esquipulas II Agreement were very complex and intensive. At the request of the participating nation-states, the United Nations established ONUCA to oversee the execution and implementation of the original Esquipulas II Agreement stated goals.

Seven months later, the UN was called to the region with the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL, July 1991 - April 1995). ONUSAL was established to assist in the peace talks aimed at ending the civil war in El Salvador between the formal government and Frente Farabundo Marti Liberacion Nacional (FMLN). The negotiations brokered by the Secretary-General led to the end of a bloody conflict that claimed some 75,000 lives, verified the demobilization of combatants, reintegration of troops into their society, and put an end to a twelve-year conflict. ONUSAL also assisted in bringing about resolution to the causes of the civil war (judicial reform, disestablishment and replacement of National police with civilian police, and landholder reformation).<sup>54</sup>

After only a short break the United Nations Verification Mission in Guatemala (MINUGUA, January - May

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<sup>53</sup> United Nations Peacekeeping Operations ONUCA, <http://www.un.org/Depts/DPKO/Missions/onucabackgr.html>, accessed October 14, 2009.

<sup>54</sup> United Nations Peacekeeping Operations ONUSAL, [http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co\\_mission/onusal.htm](http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co_mission/onusal.htm) [http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co\\_mission/onusalbackgr1.html](http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co_mission/onusalbackgr1.html), accessed October 14, 2009.

1997) was established. After 36 years of conflict between the Guatemalan government and the Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca (URNG) was brought to an end when an agreement for Firm and Lasting Peace was signed under the United Nations auspices. MINUGUA oversaw the negotiations and implementation of numerous previously signed agreements between the two parities. MINUGUA was comprised of more than two-hundred and fifty human rights monitors, legal experts, and indigenous specialist along with 155 military observers.<sup>55</sup>

Of all the nation-states within the region of Latin America and the Caribbean, Haiti has seen the most assistance from the United Nations. With a resource striped country and a collapsed government the Haitian people where in dire straits. The UN stepped in beginning in 1993 to try and assist with the problem nation. The first UN operation was the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH, September 1993 - June 1996). "UNMIH was established in September 1993 to help implement provisions of the Governors Island Agreement of 3 July 1993.<sup>56</sup> The UN programs continued their actions with the United Nations Support Mission in Haiti (UNSMIH, July 1996 - July 1997). "UNSMIH was established to assist the Government in the professionalization of the police, maintenance of a secure and stable environment conducive to the success of efforts to establish and train an effective national police force, and to coordinate

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<sup>55</sup> United Nations Peacekeeping Operations MINUGUA, [http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co\\_mission/minuguabackgr.html](http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co_mission/minuguabackgr.html), accessed October 14, 2009.

<sup>56</sup> United Nations Peacekeeping Operations UNMIH, [http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co\\_mission/unmih.htm](http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co_mission/unmih.htm), accessed October 20, 2009.

activities of the United Nations system in promoting institution-building, national reconciliation and economic rehabilitation."<sup>57</sup>

At the completion of UNSMIH the United Nations Civilian Police Mission in Haiti (MIPONUH, December 1997 - March 2000) was set in motion. MIPONUH's "...main task was to assist the Government of Haiti in the professionalization of the Haitian National Police." This mission placed special emphasis on assistance at the supervisory level and on training specialized police units while performing other tasks including; mentoring police performance, guiding police agents in their day-to-day duties and maintaining close coordination with technical advisers to the Haitian National Police funded by the United Nations Development Program and bilateral donors.<sup>58</sup>

Another short but important operation was the United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti (UNTMIH, August - November 1997). UNTMIH mission was to professionalize the Haitian National Police (HNP) by training specialized units in crowd control, rapid reaction forces and palace security. This mission was comprised of 250 civilian police personnel and fifty military personnel. UNTMIH was the third in a series of United Nations peacekeeping missions to Haiti.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> United Nations Peacekeeping Operations UNSMIH, [http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co\\_mission/unsmih.htm](http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co_mission/unsmih.htm), accessed October 20, 2009.

<sup>58</sup> United Nations Peacekeeping Operations MIPONUH, [http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co\\_mission/miponuh.htm](http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co_mission/miponuh.htm), accessed October 20, 2009.

<sup>59</sup> United Nations Peacekeeping Operations UNTMIH, [http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co\\_mission/untmih.htm](http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co_mission/untmih.htm), accessed October 20, 2009.

The numerous operations listed above details how the United Nation has had an ongoing positive interaction within the region of Latin America and the Caribbean. The organization has had a positive impact on providing security forces when requested in attempting to maintain or establish peace within the territory of nation-states. They have also been instrumental in facilitating negotiations between parties involved in conflict and providing training in an attempt to reestablish the host nation-states own security forces and be able to provide self-sustained operations without outside influence or assistance. Haiti has seen much of the assistance in the region and is a nation with numerous issues still today. The regional enactment of the UN could provide ongoing assistance for Haiti with great influence from its neighbors.

#### **B. DESIGN FOR REGIONAL RELATIONSHIPS**

If one were to design a new regional construct for an organization such as the United Nations he would have to consider numerous factors. In order for a regional design of the UN to be feasible, it will require well established nations to lead the organization and assist the less established members in their region. Which nation-states within the region would be considered in an upper tier concerning economic, political, military, and international influence and in a position to lead the regional organization? Looking at the region of Latin America and the Caribbean one finds a vast disparity between the upper and lower tier nation-states concerning the economic, political, military, and international influential factors and how they rank on a standardized list such as The Fund

for Peace Failed State Index. Many factors go into establishing the ratings for nation-states by The Fund for Peace and are listed here.

Twelve Indicators for the Failed State Index.<sup>60</sup>

Social Indicators

- I-1. Mounting Demographic Pressures
- I-2. Massive Movement of Refugees or Internally Displaced persons creating complex Humanitarian emergencies.
- I-3. Legacy of Vengeance-Seeking Group Grievance or Group Paranoia.
- I-4. Chronic and Sustained Human Decline

Economic Indicators

- I-5. Uneven Economic Development along Group Lines
- I-6. Sharp and /or Severe Economic Decline

Political Indicators

- I-7. Criminalization and/or Delegitimization of the State
- I-8. Progressive Deterioration of Public Services
- I-9. Suspension or Arbitrary Application of the Rule of Law and Widespread Violation of Human Rights
- I-10. Security Apparatus Operates as a "State Within a State"
- I-11. Rise of Factionalized Elites
- I-12. Intervention of Other States or External Political Actors

Table 1 is data from the Failed State Index 2009 pertaining only to the nation-states from Latin America and the Caribbean. One can see the wide ranking disparity from

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<sup>60</sup> The Fund For Peace, The Failed State Index, [http://www.fundforpeace.org/web/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=391&Itemid=549](http://www.fundforpeace.org/web/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=391&Itemid=549), accessed October 22, 2009 2:10 p.m. PST.



Haiti ranking twelfth to Chile ranking 154<sup>th</sup> out of the total 177 on the index.

LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN NATIONS ON THE FAILED STATE  
INDEX 2009

Regional Rank	Status Category & Country	Total Score	World Rank
	<i>Alert Status</i>		
1	Haiti	101.8	12
	<i>Warning Status</i>		
2	Columbia	89.2	41
3	Bolivia	86.3	51
4	Nicaragua	82.6	64
5	Ecuador	81.2	69
6	Guatemala	80.6	75
7	Cuba	80.6	76
8	Venezuela	79.5	77
9	Dominican Republic	77.7	88
10	Honduras	77.2	90
11	El Salvador	77.2	91
12	Peru	77.1	92
13	Mexico	75.4	98
14	Paraguay	72.0	106
15	Belize	96.5	111
16	Brazil	69.1	113
17	Jamaica	68.6	117
18	Grenada	67.9	119
19	Trinidad	66.7	123
20	Antigua & Barbuda	62.8	126
21	Bahamas	60.9	130
	<i>Moderate Status</i>		
22	Panama	59.7	132
23	Barbados	57.2	132
24	Costa Rica	52.5	135
25	Argentina	44.7	137
26	Uruguay	41.2	149
27	Chile	37.5	154

*Source:* Fund for Peace, Failed State Index 2009

Table 1. Latin America and the Caribbean Nations on The  
Failed State Index 2009

The uneven income distribution can further be seen upon investigating the following findings from the World Bank. In 2008, the World Development Indicators showed Latin America and the Caribbean having the most unequal income distribution in the world.<sup>61</sup> Latin America and the Caribbean have a mix of strong major states, relatively speaking, and a collection of small failing states. Unlike other regions of the world, Africa for example, the potential for a robust regional framework consisting of all or most nation-states within the region to come into existence is a possibility in perhaps a few decades whereas an example of this happening in Africa is a longer term project that would require a much grander investment from multiple international organizations, nation-states, and financial backers. At the same time, movement towards stronger regional structures, with attendant security and development benefits in Latin America could provide a further example, or model for other regions in the future. This regional construct may also provide a model that would reflect the fact that organizations such as the European Union are not isolated or unique occurrences.

Meanwhile, other considerations would have to go into the design of the regional division of the United Nations. Consideration for historical disputes over borders, political conflict or warring between neighboring nation-states, and economic / mineral resources are just a few of major factors needing to be considered when creating an organization such as the one proposed in this thesis. While

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<sup>61</sup> Global Strategic Assessment 2009, Chapter 15, The Americas, <http://www.ndu.edu/inss/index.cfm?secID=8&pageID=126&type=section>, accessed September 15, 2009.

accounting for such issues as economic, political, military, international influence, and probability of the nation-state failure, this thesis will work off the assumption that the status of the above components acts as the highest priority factors in constructing the Regional United Nations division within Latin America and the Caribbean.

When looking at Latin America and the Caribbean, one will discover current existing regional organizations. The existence of these organization provide a basis for cooperation among the nations of the region. In many cases, the existing organizations have established themselves in a sub-regional section of the overall region. The alliances, treaties, and trading communities of member nation-states in Latin America and The Caribbean are described in the Global Strategic Assessment 2009<sup>62</sup> and are listed below to provide a sense of how regional organizations currently exist are within the region and could work in conjunction with a regional UN organization.

The general organizations within the region consist of the following:

**CARICOM - Caribbean Community and Common Market (Est. 1958)**

The organization's establishment was the result of a 15-year effort to fulfill the hope of regional integration that was born with the establishment of the British West Indies Federation in 1958. The federation came to an end in 1962, but its end may be regarded as the real beginning of what is now the Caribbean Community.

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<sup>62</sup> Global Strategic Assessment 2009, Chapter 15, The Americas, <http://www.ndu.edu/inss/index.cfm?secID=8&pageID=126&type=section>, accessed September 15, 2009 2:10 p.m. PST, 357.

**UNASUR - Union de Naciones Suramericanas, or Union of South American Nations (Est. 2008)**

UNASUR, set up on the model of the European Union, was made official in May 2008. It aims at the cultural, social, economic, and political integration of the South American peoples.

**SICA - *Sistema de Integracion Centroamericana*, or Central American Integration System (Est. 1991)**

The Central American countries have gone into a process of political, economic, social, cultural, and ecological integration through this system. (Dominican Republic, Belize, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala)

The political organizations within the region consist of the following:

**ALBA - *Alternativa Bolivariana para los Pueblos de Nuestra America*, or Bolivarian Alternative for Latin America (Est. 2005)**

ALBA was launched in Havana, Cuba, in 2005 within the framework of the Hemispheric Social Alliance. ALBA challenges the hegemony of neoliberal integration; it is a deliberate response to the proposed Free Trade Area of the Americas and its focus on the market as the source of efficiency and economic growth and prosperity. ALBA is defined as a form of integration that places at its center the fight against poverty and exclusion through social reform. (Cuba, Venezuela, Nicaragua, Bolivia, Honduras, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Nicaragua, Suriname, St. Lucia, St. Kitts and Nevis, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Haiti, Guatemala)

**PetroCaribe (Est. 2005)**

This Caribbean oil alliance with Venezuela to purchase oil on conditions of preferential payment was launched in June 2005. The payment system allows for a few nation-states to buy oil on market value, but only a certain amount is needed up front; the remainder can be paid through a 25 year financing agreement at 1% interest. (Cuba, Dominican Republic, Antigua and Barbuda)

**PetroSur (Est. 1988)**

PetroSur, a political and commercial company promoted by the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela with the support of other governments of the region, is directed to establish cooperation and integration mechanisms under the basis of complementarity[sic] and is called to use, fairly and democratically, the energy resources for the socio-economic improvement of the region. (Venezuela, Brazil, Argentina)

**PetroAndina (Est. 2003)**

The company, organized as a private company in July 2003 to search for, develop, and produce hydrocarbons in the Southern Cone of South America, has focused its activities in the Neuquen Basin of Argentina and conducts operations from its office in Buenos Aires. It is headquartered in Calgary, Canada. (Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela)

The economic organizations within the region consist of the following:

**NAFTA-North America Free Trade Agreement (Est. 1994)**

This trilateral trade bloc in North America was created by the governments of the United States, Canada, and Mexico.

**CAFTA-DR - Central America-Dominican Republic-United States Free Trade Agreement (Est. 2004)**

The agreement was designed to eliminate tariffs and trade barriers and expand regional opportunities for workers, manufacturers, consumers, farmers, ranchers, and service providers. (Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Dominican Republic, United States)

**Mercosur - *Mercado Comun del Sur* (Est. 1991)**

The agreement was established by the Treaty of Asuncion in March 1991 and took effect on December 31, 1994. Its purpose was to set up a common market and eliminate trade barriers among the signatory parties. (Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay)

**Andean Community - *Comunidad Andina de Naciones* (Est. 1969)**

This community is formed of four countries that voluntarily joined to achieve more rapid, better balanced, and more autonomous development through Andean, South American, and Latin American integration. (Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru)

The fact that the above organizations exist shows not only the willingness of the nation-states to develop a regional or sub-regional architecture but the necessity of

it. Around the world globalization is taking place. The economies of nations, therefore political systems due to their ties to economics, have begun to regionalize and the move to a regional design is already in motion. The real questions now are how the United Nations is going to keep up with the change, adapt itself to this new world construct, and what nation-states within the region are in a position to take the lead.

### **1. Proposed Nations to Lead the Region**

In proposing nation-states to lead the region of Latin America and the Caribbean, the author is by no means an expert and therefore this shall only be used as a depiction of what the apex of the RUN Latin America and the Caribbean could look like. What follows is a description of who may be selected to lead a Regional United Nations as members of a Head / Security Council. The Head council shall be viewed as similar to today's Security Council as it would consist of the same duties.

Brazil has emerged as one of the countries within the region, which holds a regional and global presence to take the lead. Brazil has a population of nearly two hundred million and holds half of South America's gross domestic product.<sup>63</sup> The Global Strategic Assessment 2009 from the Institute for National Strategic Studies describes Brazil in the following manner:

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<sup>63</sup> Global Strategic Assessment 2009, Chapter 15 The Americas, <http://www.ndu.edu/inss/index.cfm?secID=8&pageID=126&type=section>, retrieved September 15, 2009, 336.

Brazil is actively advancing diplomatic and economic initiatives that are redesigning relations with South American neighbors and creating new strategic partners outside of the region. With its modern industrial, agricultural, and financial sectors, Brazil has become an important actor in all the trade, direct investment, energy, and environment issues on the global agenda. Meanwhile, the country has a tradition of strong public diplomacy in promoting ideas and interests, which tends to be well received worldwide.<sup>64</sup>

Brazil holds a safer status than 15 other nation-states but a higher risk status than 11 in the region on the failed state index and is in the Warning category. Brazil appears to hold a much greater international economic and political influence than many of the lower risk nation-states and therefore may be in a better position to lead the region in a regional architecture and is part of the PetroSur regional organization.

Chile has become a model for economic success among emerging countries in the region. An increase of 14% in export revenues due to copper value increase has made Chile one of the world's fastest growing economies.<sup>65</sup> Chile holds the safest status over all other nation-states in the region on the failed state index and is in the Moderate category for risk of failure. Current leading nation-states of the United Nations appear in the Moderate category on the index including; The United States, The United Kingdom,

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<sup>64</sup> Global Strategic Assessment 2009, Chapter 15 The Americas, <http://www.ndu.edu/inss/index.cfm?secID=8&pageID=126&type=section>, accessed September 15, 2009, 336.

<sup>65</sup> The Fund For Peace, Country Profiles, [http://www.fundforpeace.org/web/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=316&Itemid=475](http://www.fundforpeace.org/web/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=316&Itemid=475), accessed October 27, 2009.



and France, and holding this status on the index should not be viewed negatively concerning this region.

Argentina has a population of nearly 40 million people and a per capita GDP of \$15,200. It has one of the region's largest economies based in export-oriented agricultural along with a diversified industrial sector.<sup>66</sup>

Argentina holds the third safest status of all other nation-states in the region only falling behind Uruguay and Chile on the failed state index and is also in the Moderate category and is part of the PetroSur regional organization.

Mexico is a federal republic consisting of 31 states with an elected president. It has a population of one hundred and nine million people and GDP per capita of \$12,800. Mexico is an active member of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and a major exported to the United States being the eighth largest crude exporter.<sup>67</sup> Mexico holds a safer status than thirteen other nation-states but a higher risk status than fourteen, only two behind Brazil, in the region on the failed state index and is in the Warning category. Mexico is part of the NAFTA regional organization. Like Brazil, the warning category does infer possible problems within the country but a total of 81 countries from around the world fall into the Warning category on the index. Though utilized in this work to gauge stability of nation-states, the Failed State Index is not the final word on the matter and therefore should not be viewed as a guarantee of failure. The argument can be

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<sup>66</sup> The Fund For Peace, Country Profiles, [http://www.fundforpeace.org/web/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=241&Itemid=384](http://www.fundforpeace.org/web/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=241&Itemid=384), accessed October 27, 2009.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

made that a nation in the warning category should not be considered to lead a United Nations regional council. Though that argument does have some validity, two of the current United Nations Security Council permanent members, Russia and China, are also in the moderate risk category of the Failed State Index. This factor should not limit these countries, those in the Warning category of risk, from playing key roles in regional development.

Colombia is the fourth largest country in South America and has a population of 45 million. It is rich in natural resources such as; coal, petroleum, natural gas, iron ore, nickel, silver, gold, copper, and emeralds. Coal production in Columbia is the largest in the region of Latin American and the Caribbean and ranks as sixteenth in the world. Colombia has the second highest risk of failure, only above Haiti, in the region on the failed state index and is in the Warning category and is part of the PetroAndina regional organization. The previous argument of failure status applies here to Colombia as well but with a higher degree of concern. One of the main benefits of putting Colombia in a lead position of the Regional United Nations of Latin America and the Caribbean is due to its numerous internal and cross boarder issues. Though wealth diversity amongst its people, illegal drug production and trafficking, and kidnappings related to drug cartels, and a forty year civil war are all major issues and concerns in Colombia, recent numbers have shown a decrease in this activity due to new policing efforts and foreign

assistance.<sup>68</sup> In this leadership role, Colombia has a great deal to gain if able to stabilize its issues from the successful and effective implementation of such an endeavor. It should be highly motivated to engage in such an opportunity.

Though this section has outlined five key member nation-states within the region of Latin America and the Caribbean, it is only an example of who could be selected. Many issues exist within the borders of each of the above listed nation-states and therefore an argument can be made against each for the role of lead nation in a Regional United Nations organization. Some could also argue language differences, Brazil speaking Portuguese rather than Spanish, would be a negative representation of the region. It could actually be a positive representation highlighting the diversity of the nation-states within the region of Latin America and the Caribbean. If we look back at the regional organizations that have existed within the region we see that four out of the five nations proposed to lead the region have had active parts in the organizations. Again, the purpose of this thesis is not to iron out all of the details but rather to provide an idea of how the United Nations may become more efficacious in today's world of globalization and regionalization. Marshall Eakin has predicted the future of Latin America and the Caribbean as follows:

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<sup>68</sup> The Fund for Peace, Country Profiles, [http://www.fundforpeace.org/web/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=358&Itemid=520](http://www.fundforpeace.org/web/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=358&Itemid=520), accessed October 27, 2009.

Latin America today shares a common present, one that is more democratic and participatory than at any time in its history. For all its flaws, the pursuit of democracy, social justice, cultural pluralism, and economic development in Latin America is stronger than ever before. The drive for regional economic integration, ironically, may run counter to the diverging cultural and social trajectories. If regional integration continues, we may one day see that latin America—indeed, all of the Americas—will have not only a common past, but also a common future.<sup>69</sup>

Though the future of Latin America and the Caribbean is yet to be determined today's Latin American proposed leading nations are ones of growth and development. These two factors are ones the United Nations are founded upon and may continue to have a future in.

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<sup>69</sup> Eakin, Marshal C. (2007). *The History of Latin America*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan 15.

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## V. CONCLUSION

The world today is characterized by the expansion of global markets and increased information sharing. Part of this process is the deepening of regional ties. The United Nations, created during a period when an organization to help police the nation-states around the world was thought to have been needed, has spent 64 years attempting to save millions of people from war and starvation. The world is still in need of such an organization due to the fact that people are still starving, dying as innocent victims of drug wars, and being slaughtered in ethnic cleansing (Ethiopia, Colombia, Darfur respectively). At the same time, the United Nations needs to see the world as it is now, and plan for how it might be in the future. Raising the topic of reorganizing the United Nations today may help begin the process of restructuring the organization for a new era. This thesis has emphasized the need for more emphasis by the UN on regional arrangements, as a contribution to what will no doubt be, if it not already is a growing debate. At the same time, it is being suggested that whether UN can or will be reorganized along the lines suggested above is not really the point. The point is, it should do it and here is a way to kick-start such an option.

The United Nations was once seen as a legitimate international organization providing services for a needing nation-state based society in post war conflict. In recent times, the legitimacy of the United Nations has fallen into decline due to failed peacekeeping operations in the

previous decade. There exists a need for international organization to deal with global issues (climate change, viral epidemics, and world wars) and concerns affecting a global society and not place any one super-power nation-state in hegemony and accountability for global issues. In order for the United Nations to be seen as a legitimate international organization, the UN must place itself in a position to not only affect governments and international citizens in need of assistance but also to market itself to first and second world nation-states as a legitimate and effective organization. In this effort, the United Nations would be able to mold the framework for a regional construct to a global society. With that said, once again look at what is being proposed in this work and a regional design provides a much more practical volume of space to be able to influence.

The creation or strengthening of regional organizations under the auspices of the United Nations is required in order for the organization to remain relevant and to continue developing. The current Secretary-General of the United Nations, Ban Ki-Moon, is a man who, in his public statements at least, realizes this. His is on record as noting that:

Every day we are reminded of the need for a strengthened United Nations, as we face a growing array of new challenges, including humanitarian crises, human rights violations, armed conflicts and important health and environmental concerns. Seldom has the United Nations been called upon to do so much for so many. I am determined to breathe new life and inject renewed confidence

into a strengthened United Nations firmly anchored in the twenty-first century, and which is effective, efficient, coherent and accountable.<sup>70</sup>

In an effort to do so much for so many the United Nations organizations should open its doors to new ideas. As the leader of this international organization, Ban Ki-moon is in a position to lead the United Nations down a path that allows for future implementation of change and or reform.

With a leader in position to make changes to the United Nations, the General Assembly must also be willing to develop, incorporate and execute the changes. As the main body within the United Nations, the General Assembly has also expressed its willingness and commitment to act as necessary at this point in the United Nations history.

Reform of the United Nations - enhancing its relevance and effectiveness for the world's people in the 21st Century - is a priority concern of the Member States. At the 2005 World Summit world leaders reaffirmed their commitment to a strengthened United Nations with enhanced authority and capacity to effectively and rapidly respond to the full range of global challenges of our time. With the Organization engaged with a range of pressing global issues in every part of the world, a renewed, revitalized and more responsive United Nations is needed more than ever.<sup>71</sup>

To turn their lofty rhetoric into practice the members of the United Nations, must accept that the way the

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<sup>70</sup> United Nations organization background, <http://www.un.org/aboutun/untoday/unorg.htm>, accessed December 2, 2008.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.



organization is structured is outdated. Restructuring it along regional lines may provide a means to bring more stability and life to the troubled regions of the world.

Organizational design theory has shown us the United Nations is outdated. A professional bureaucracy is how the organization initially constructed itself and at that time, it was the correct fit. Due to a more complex and unstable environment, the fit is no longer in line with the organization. In restructuring the organization in a way that emphasizes a regional approach may improve the efficiency of the organization by pushing responsibility down to a lower tier and also bring accountability to, and place responsibility on the member nation-states involved in a particular region in the context of UN standards and oversight.

The idea of regionalization is not a foreign concept. By looking at Latin America and the Caribbean, it has been shown the ideas expressed in this thesis could be put into practice at some point in the future by building on both existing regional initiatives and the existing United Nations organization. Latin America is home to numerous regional organizations. We can look to a historian to tell us how the future might appear:

The beauty of Latin America is that there is enough unity of features that we can, in fact, define the region, yet there is enough diversity that we are always watching the pieces of threat region diverge from their origins.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Eakin, Marshal C. (2007). *The History of Latin America*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 416.

Meanwhile, in recent times, some of the nation-states in the region have started to come into their own and emerge on the international scene as potential global players, while strengthening their regional posture.

The time of individual nation-states existing only for themselves is may no longer be in line with a global society. Many millions of people would benefit immensely in a regional governing body that acts on its own ideals, norms and values, and cultural desires while following a few basic human rights. Millions of others will be affected when those millions are content with their situation and not participating in genocide, drug cartel wars, and armed conflict with their neighbors.

No one should think a project of this type and magnitude will happen overnight if at all. If and when an organization decides to redesign itself, a detailed plan must be developed and laid out for all involved, in order for it to be effective. In this case, regional nation-states have to be involved and responsible for a plan of this type to develop. The United Nations emerged as a result of the need for an organization where the nation-states of the world could come and voice their concerns and attempt to keep the world at peace to the best of their ability. Though the United Nations has not been able to suppress all the conflicts that have arisen, it has been able to bring many of them under control and or provide the necessary means to bring them to an end as shown with the UN involvement in the region of Latin America and the Caribbean.

At no time since the founding of the United Nations organization has the nation-states and peoples of the world been more involved with each other. Globalization and regionalization is the future. The nation-state system, though still applicable, has clearly begun to decline. Meanwhile, the UN is not exactly on mission right now and may never be, but it could be and this thesis provides a few ideas as to how this could come to pass. The fact that Latin American regionalism is already in motion raises the question as to how it can be more robust in dealing with security and development issues: strengthening the role of the UN in the region may be the answer. The debate may have just begun, but if the United Nations has a future, then part of that future will be a need to play a more substantial role in facilitating and strengthening security and development via regional organizations and regional frameworks. The "regional solution" is out there and the United Nations is, in theory, well positioned to play an important and positive role in ushering in a new era of greater regional security and development if it chooses to do so.

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